The New Era in Palestine

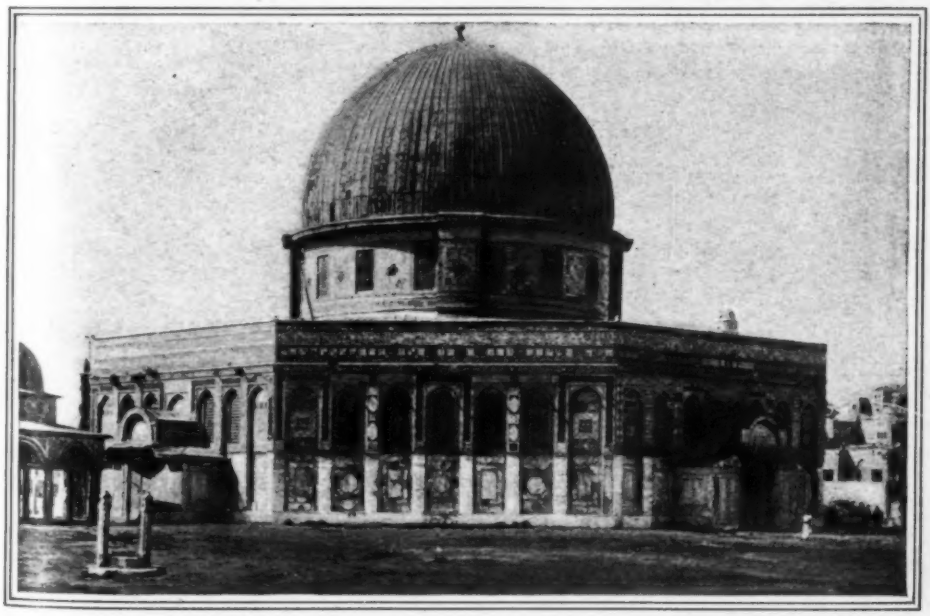
THE BEGINNING OF A NEW CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE LITTLE COUNTRY ON WHICH FOR AGES SO MUCH OF THE INTEREST OF THE WORLD HAS CENTERED AS THE BIRTHPLACE OF CHRISTIANITY, THE RACIAL HOME OF THE JEW, AND A HOLY LAND TO THE MOHAMMEDAN WHOSE RULE OVER IT HAS BEEN ENDED BY THE GREAT WAR

By Frederic Austin Ogg

Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin

As a result of the war, five new states have taken their places on the map of that portion of the world formerly known as Asiatic Turkey. These five are the kingdom of the Hedjaz, bordering the Red Sea and stretching inland indefinitely; the republic of Armenia, still undelimited, but nominally embracing both the Russian and the Turkish territories of that name; Syria, including the province of Aleppo; Mesopotamia, comprising the three rich provinces of Mosul, Bagdad, and Basra; and Palestine.

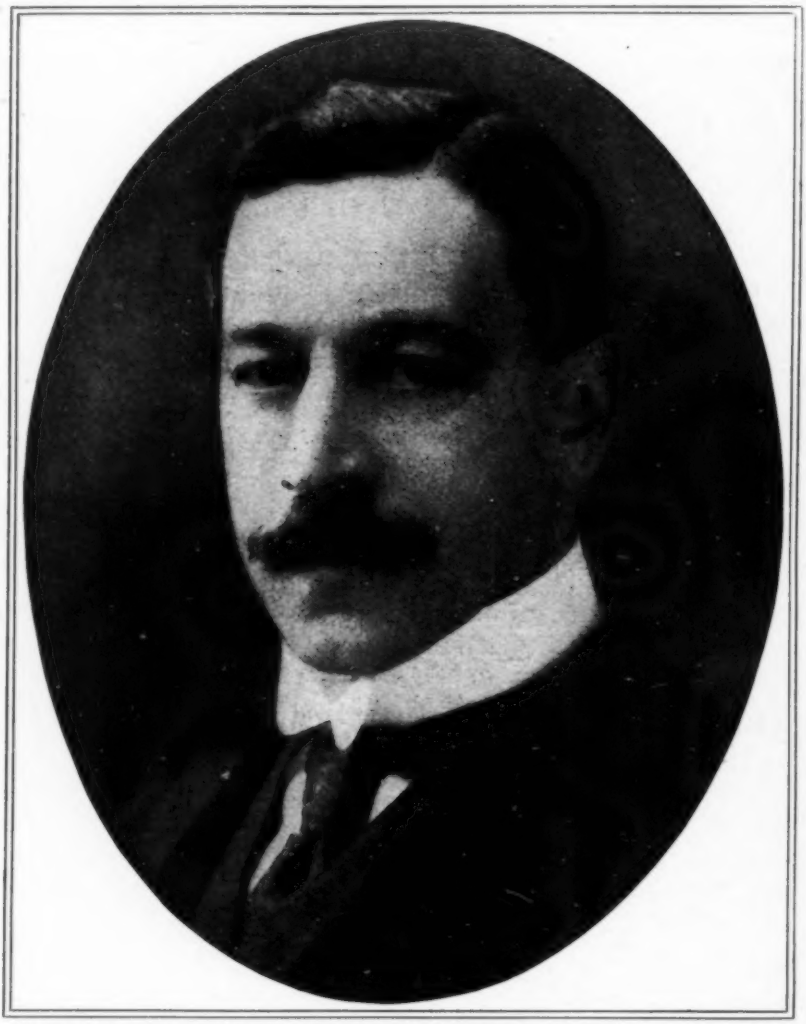
The first and second have been recognized by the victorious European powers as completely independent, although the effort is still being made to find a nation willing to assume a mandate for the protection of luckless Armenia. The third, by agreement reached at the San Remo conference last April, has been put under the tutelage of France. The fourth and fifth



THE MOSQUE OF OMAR, OR DOME OF THE ROCK, BUILT AFTER THE CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM BY THE ARABS (A.D. 637)—UNDER THE DOME IS THE SACRED ROCK WHICH IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE SITE OF THE ALTAR OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

have been similarly turned over, for purposes of administrative supervision, to Great Britain.

Much history is going to be made in this part of the world in the next ten years. Shrewd observers, indeed, are predicting that here will center the main issues of peace and war. The mandatory system is not without attractiveness, but it bristles with difficulties, and it is likely to be productive of disputes. Already the French have been compelled to fight their way into the control of Syria; while the British operations in Mesopotamia, in addition to meeting strenuous local resistance, have been made the subject of international inquiries and warnings.



SIR HERBERT SAMUEL, BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN PALESTINE—SIR HERBERT WAS BORN IN LIVERPOOL, OF JEWISH PARENTAGE, IN 1870, AND WAS FORMERLY POSTMASTER-GENERAL IN THE ASQUITH CABINET

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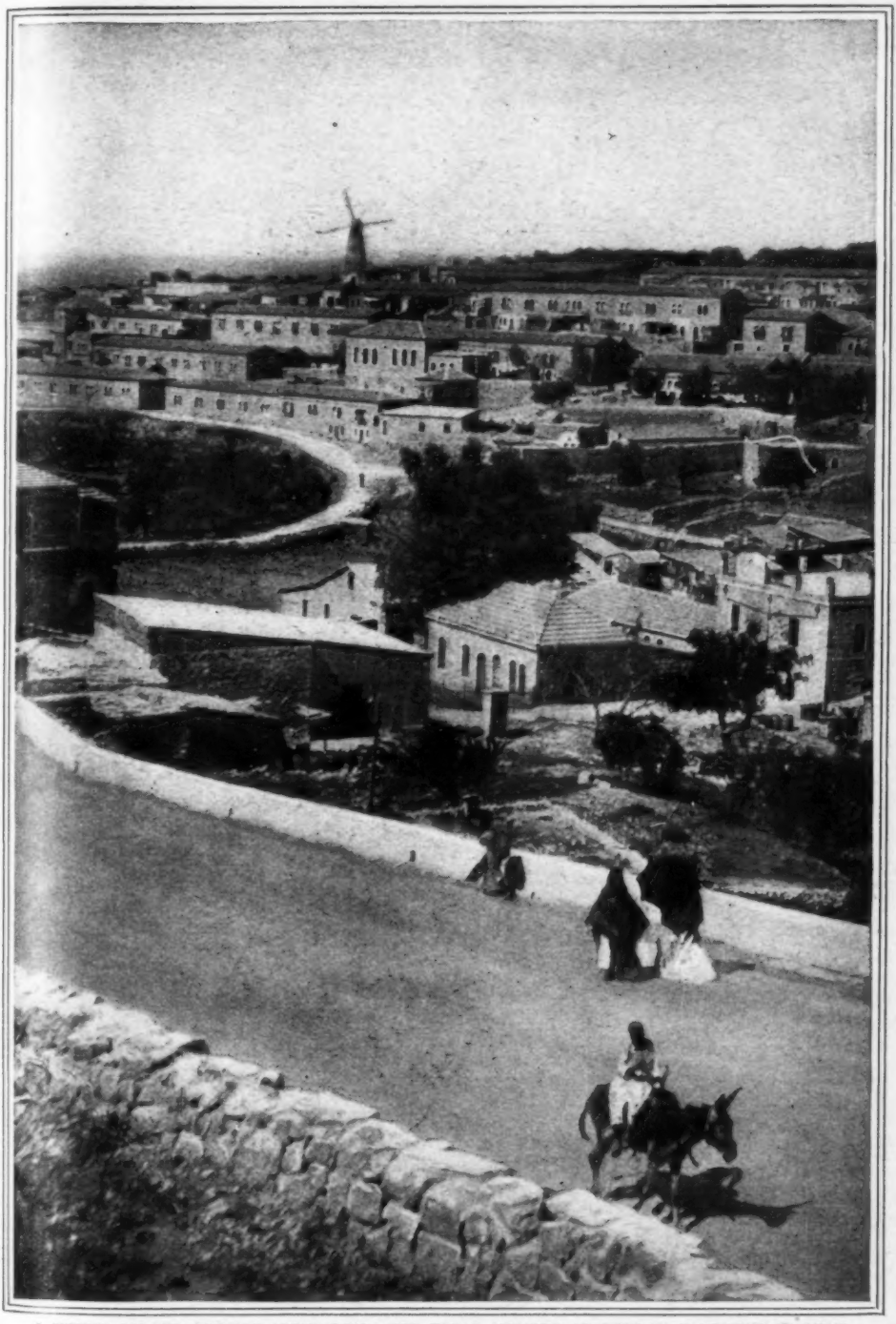
The phase of the Near Eastern settlement which for the present, at all events, interests the world most deeply is the new British position in Palestine.

To the Christian, Palestine is the Holy Land, scene of the Messianic life and death, original seat of the church. To the Mos-



A JEWISH COLONY OUTSIDE JERUSALEM — THE TOTAL NUMBER OF JEWS IN PALESTINE IS ONLY ABOUT ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND, AS AGAINST FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND ARABS, BUT THE JEWS REPRESENT THE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENT IN THE POPULATION

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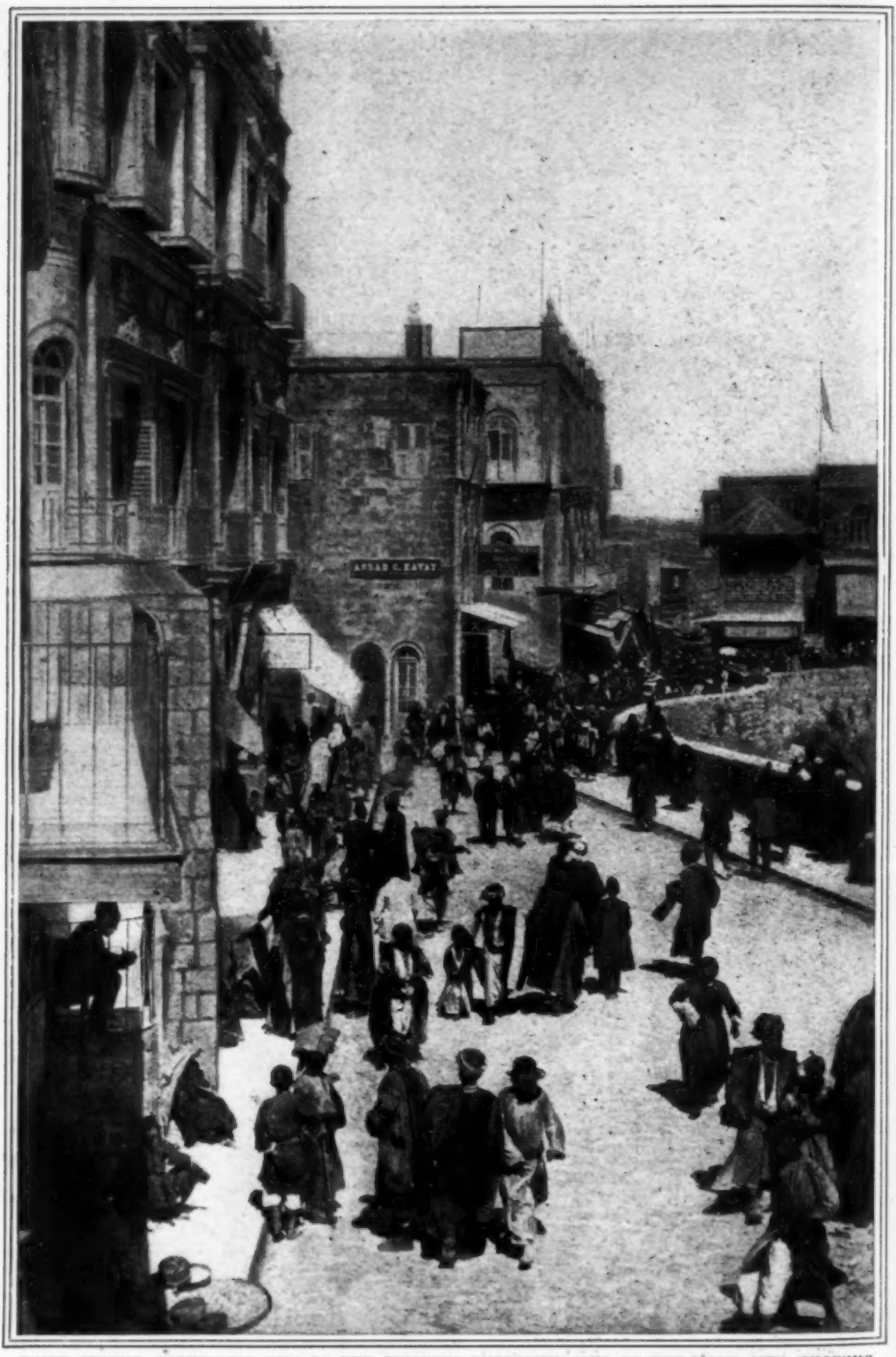

DAVID STREET, JERUSALEM, ONE OF THE BUSINESS THOROUGHFARES OF THE HOLY CITY, SHOWING THE COSMOPOLITAN MIXTURE OF PEDESTRIANS THAT IS CHARACTERISTIC OF MODERN JERUSALEM

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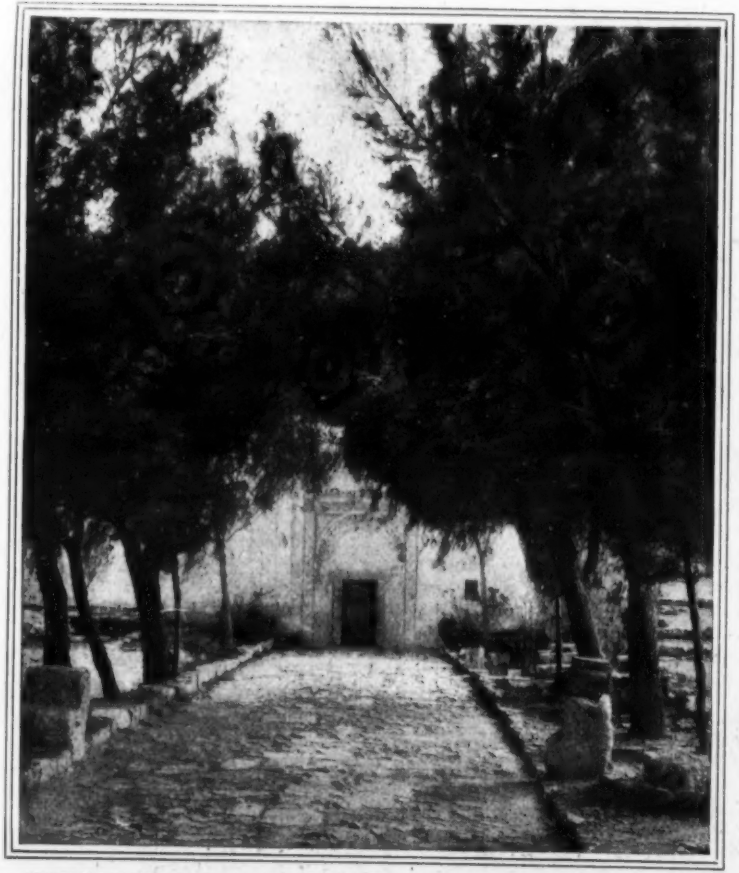
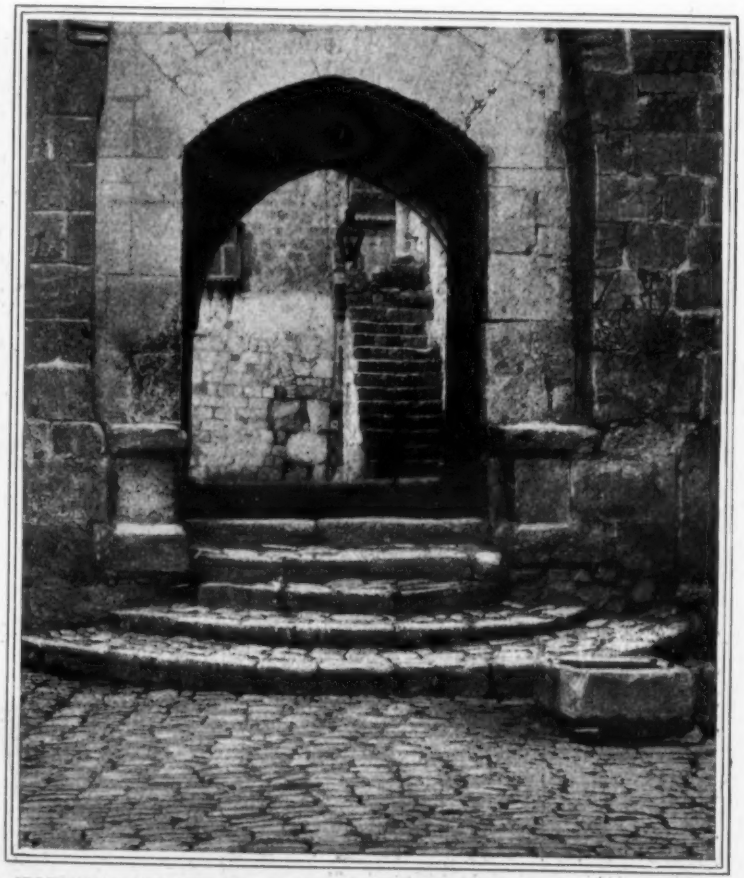
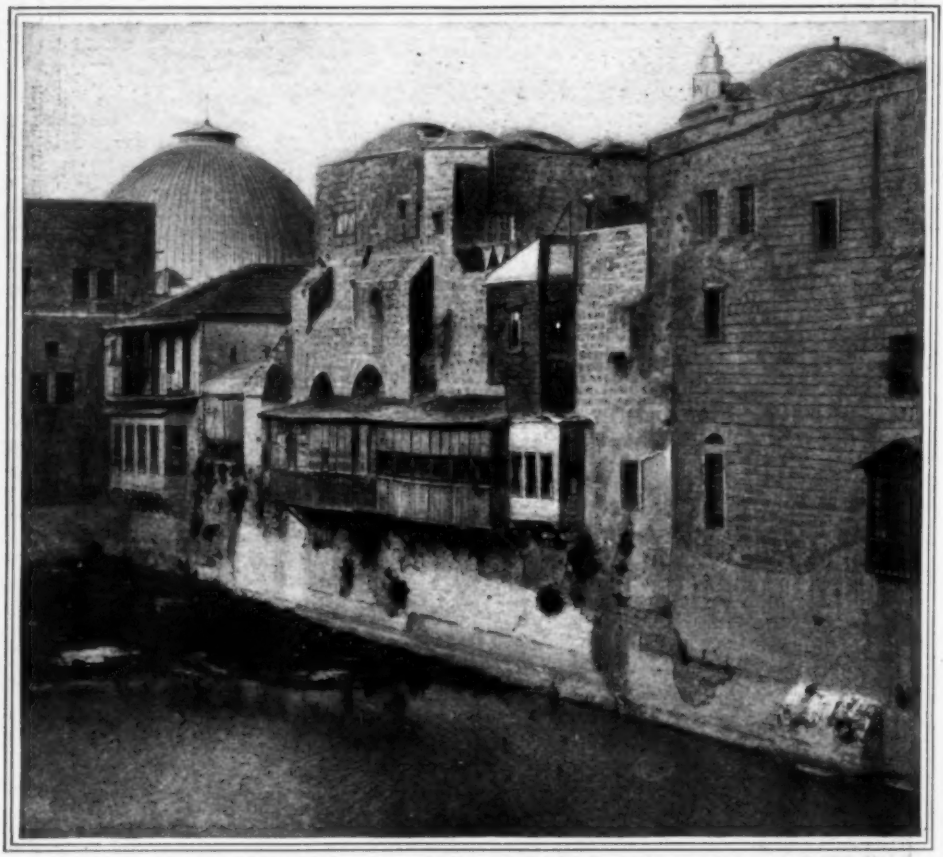


JERUSALEM—THE OLD HOUSE WHICH TRADITION IDENTIFIES AS THE SCENE OF CHRIST'S LAST SUPPER WITH HIS DISCIPLES



JERUSALEM—THE APPROACH TO THE COURT WHICH IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE SCENE OF CHRIST'S EXPULSION OF THE MONEY-CHANGERS FROM THE TEMPLE

lem, it is also a holy land, in which the great prophets who preceded Mohammed walked and talked. To the Jew it is holy land, haven, home. Even if the country did not stand at the gateway of East and West—at a vantage-point in the great game of international politics—its passing from one controlling authority to another would be everywhere observed with very special feeling, whether of pleasure or regret.

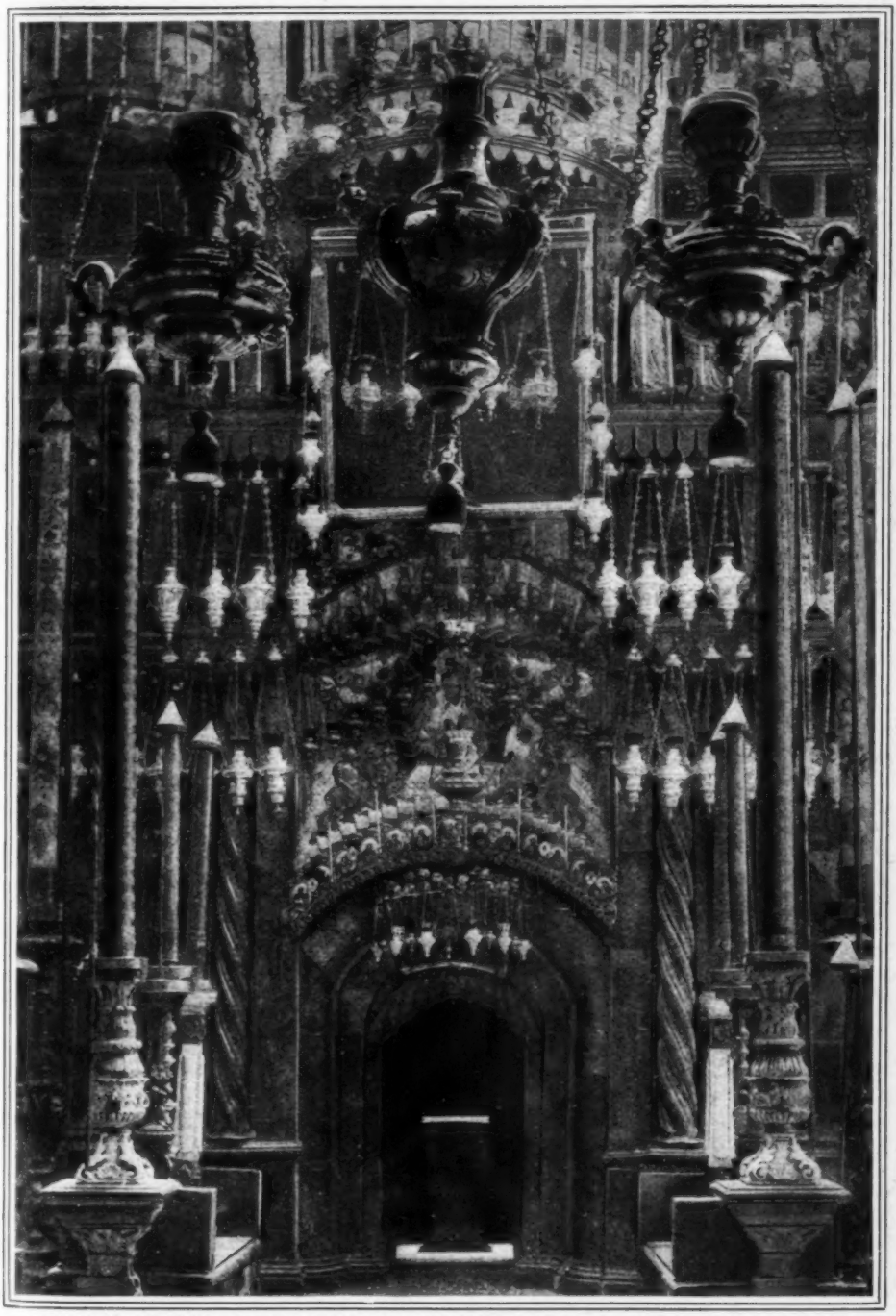


JERUSALEM—THE POOL OF HEZEKIAH, SAID TO DATE FROM THE TIME WHEN KING HEZEKIAH "MADE A POOL AND A CONDUIT, AND BROUGHT WATER INTO THE CITY"—IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE DOME OF THE MOSQUE OF OMAR

The territory for which Great Britain has accepted responsibility comprises the old Turkish sanjak of Jerusalem and portions of the provinces of Beirut and Syria. It is substantially the size of New Jersey, or of Wales, and it has a present population of about seven hundred thousand. This population is very mixed. In the main, it is Arab, and Arab is the language commonly spoken; but there are many Jews, besides Europeans of divers nationalities. On the other hand, there are practically no Turks.

Physically, the country resembles southern California. Contour and soil vary enormously, however, within very limited spaces. Deep fissures, running both north and south and east and west, cut the land, gridiron fashion, into little areas, which range all the way from the rocky plateau of Judæa to the low-lying and fruitful Galilee and Bashan. In general, the soil is good, the climate excellent, and the rainfall adequate. Once a land "flowing with milk and honey," it could again be made a productive and prosperous country if only capital, labor, scientific direction, and good government were supplied.

No reader of history needs to be told how checkered have been the country's for-



JERUSALEM—INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER, MARKING THE TRADITIONAL SITE OF THE ENTOMBMENT OF CHRIST—THE EARLIEST CHURCH HERE WAS BUILT BY CONSTANTINE THE GREAT; THE PRESENT STRUCTURE DATES FROM THE CRUSADES (1140-1168) WITH MANY SUBSEQUENT RESTORATIONS

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tunes. Only twice before has it formed a separate state—first under the Jews, and later, for less than a hundred years, as the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, set up by the medieval crusaders. During all the remaining centuries it has been immersed in one great empire or another — Hittite, Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Roman, Sassanian, Byzantine, Arab, Mameluke, Turkish—and shall we now add, British?

From first to last it lay on or near the world's great pathways of empire. Only for short intervals has the tread of the soldier been silenced in its borders.

PALESTINE'S ALIEN RULERS

The country's latest and harshest alien master was the Turk, whose rule extended over a period of almost exactly four hundred years. Established as a result of the defeat of the Mameluke sultan of Egypt in 1515, Turkish control was at first surprisingly moderate, and even beneficent. Solyman the Magnificent, within a generation after the conquest, gave the Jewish population full civil liberty, and expended large sums in restoring buildings and in other public improvements. Later emperors, however, were less enlightened, and for three hundred years government was almost uniformly bad. Extortionate taxes were wrung from the impoverished peasantry; corruption and waste staggered the occasional reformer; resources lay undeveloped; the arts and industries fell into decay.

Long before the Turkish era the country ceased to be Jewish, except in a historical and sentimental sense. Twice, indeed, in its earlier history it was literally emptied of its Hebrew population. On the first occasion—the Assyrian and Chaldean conquests of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.—the "captivity" did not last long; but the second break-up brought a permanent dispersion.

This greater exile began with the capture of Jerusalem by the Roman Emperor Titus in the year 70 A.D. It was completed when, sixty-five years afterward, the Emperor Hadrian crushed a rebellion, turned Jerusalem into a Roman colony, built a temple to Jupiter on the site of the Holy Sepulcher, and forbade any Jew, on pain of death, to come within seeing distance of the city.

A handful of people of Jewish nationality did, indeed, linger in the northern part of the country, devoting themselves to legal and religious studies, and living from alms contributed by their coreligionists in other lands. After the rigor of Roman rule was relaxed, increasing, though never large, numbers of the exiles' descendants drifted back; but the bulk of the Hebrew people have ever lived elsewhere. Torn from the soil, persecuted, driven from place to place, segregated, and preyed upon by covetous governments, they turned to trading as the most available mode of earning a livelihood; and as merchants and financiers they gradually gained the reputation for sharpness and cupidity which they not altogether justly bear to-day.

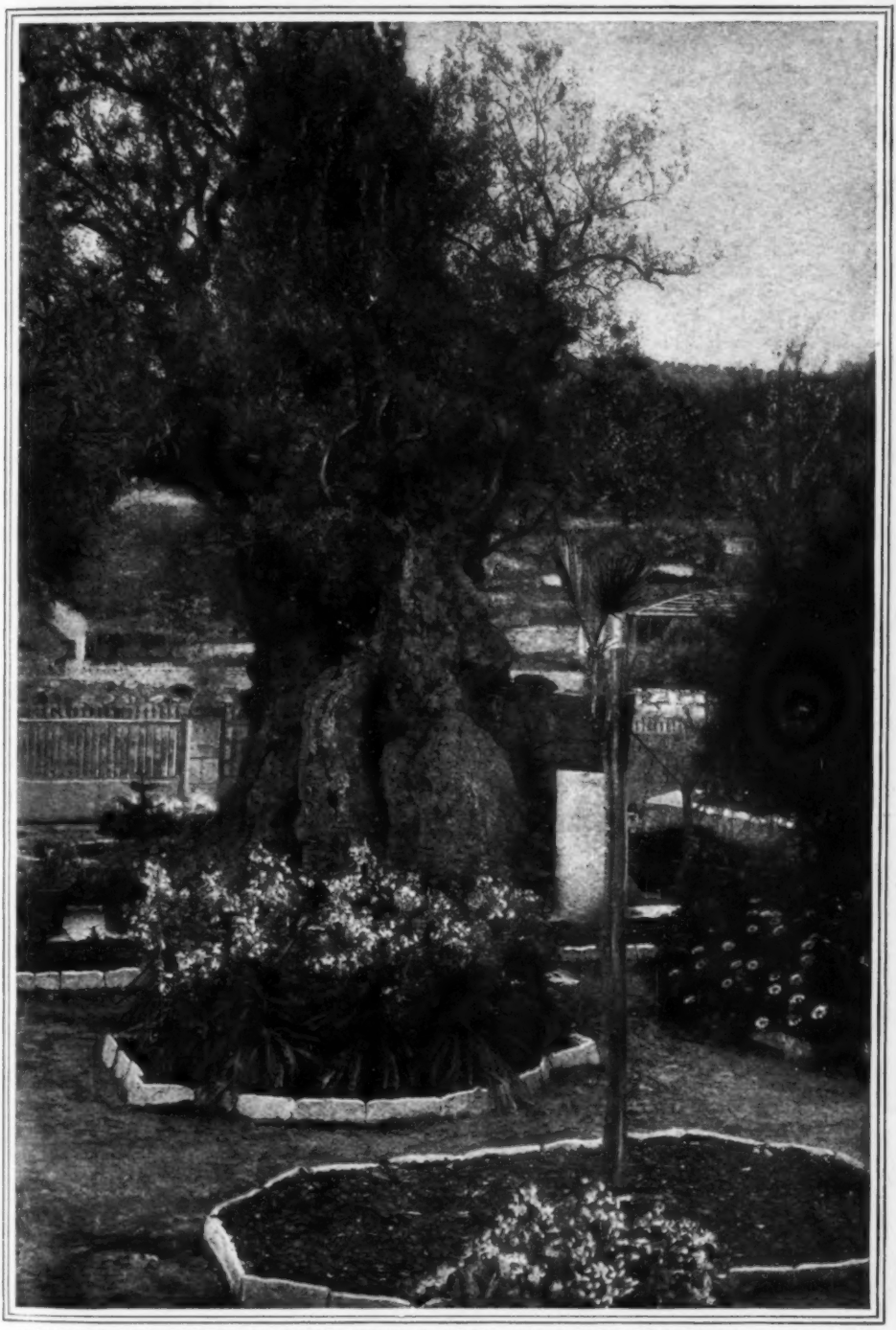
At the outbreak of the great war there were more than twelve million Jews in the world. Half of the number lived in Russia, including Russian Poland. A quarter lived in the United States. One-sixth lived in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The remainder were scattered in every land and clime. Palestine itself contained not more than one hundred thousand.

THE MOVEMENT FOR A JEWISH STATE

A considerable portion of this wide-flung Jewish population was prosperous and quite content with its lot; but large numbers were less fortunate, being the victims of anti-Semitic prejudice, restrictive laws, "pogroms," and other forms of persecution. Among these elements the hope of revival of a great Jewish state in Palestine, in which all the scattered sons of Israel could find a haven, was never given up.

In earlier times a Messiah was looked for, who should lead his people back into the chosen land. As late as the seventeenth century the entire Jewish world was stirred by the claim of a certain Sabbatai Zevi to be such a savior. In later times, however, it was realized that if Palestine was again to be made a Jewish state, the thing would have to be done through the arduous and prosaic methods of colonization, diplomatic negotiation, and perchance war. Even before 1914, important steps were taken on these lines.

Systematic colonization began not more than forty years ago, and was undertaken mainly with a view to relieving the oppressed Jews of Russia. Somewhat earlier than this, however, Jewish colonization societies had been organized in England and other western countries, and isolated colo-



THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE, ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS OF A MILE FROM JERUSALEM, TRADITIONALLY THE SCENE OF THE AGONY OF CHRIST ON THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS PASSION—THE ANCIENT OLIVE-TREE IN THE ENGRAVING IS SAID TO HAVE EXISTED AT THAT TIME

THE SO-CALLED TOMB OF THE PROPHETS, ON THE HILL OF THE PROPHETS, THE SOUTHERN SPUR OF THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, WHICH LIES EAST OF JERUSALEM, SEPARATED FROM THE CITY BY THE VALLEY AND BROOK OF KIDRON

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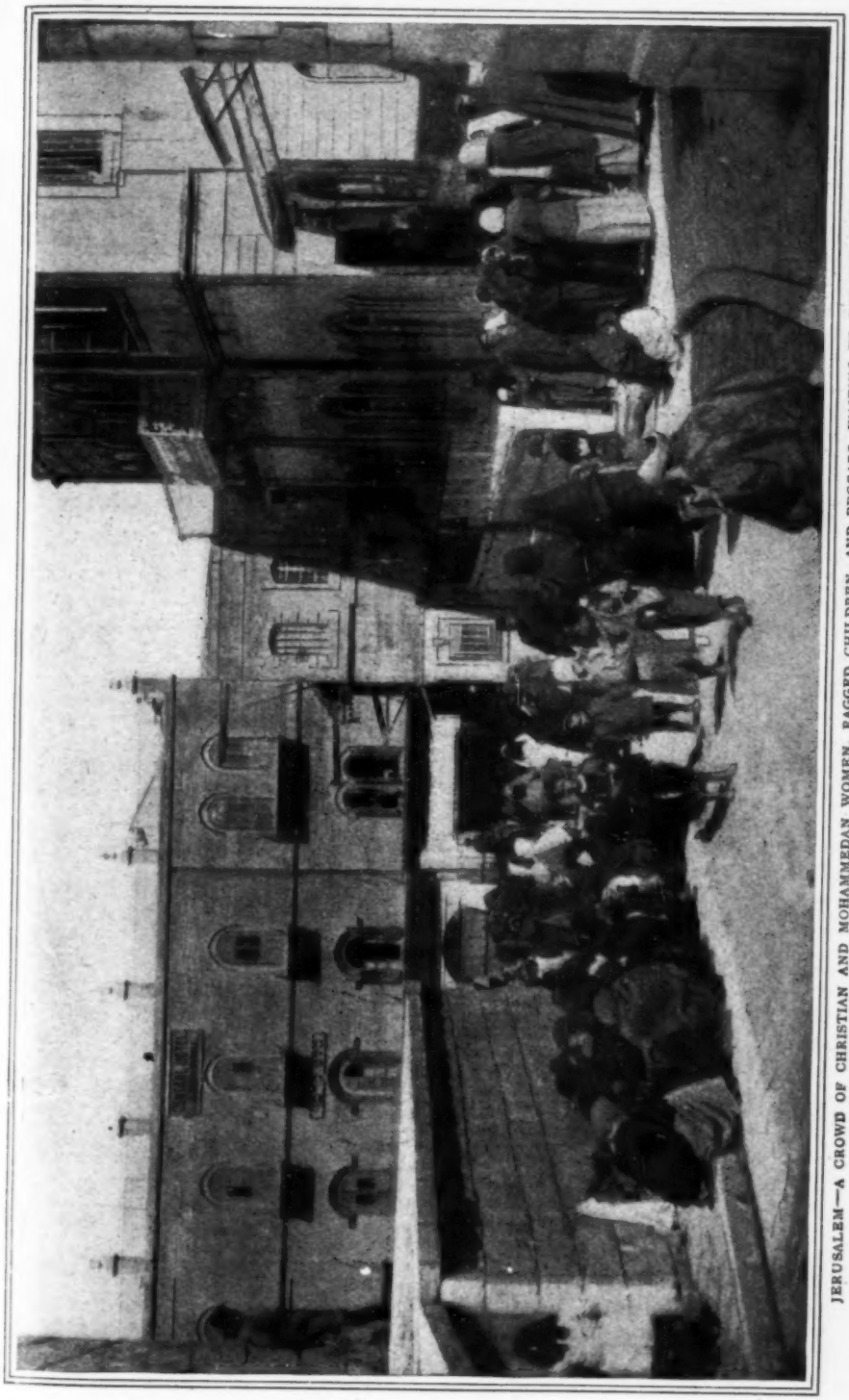
nial experiments are on record from the middle of the nineteenth century onward. Statesmen and philanthropists, practical men and dreamers, gave the subject thought; a Choveve Zion (Lovers of Zion) movement carried the effort forward, first in Russia, and later in other lands; and, largely through the agency of the Jewish Colonization Society, founded and subsidized by Baron de Hirsch, many hundreds of emigrants from Russia, Germany, Austria, and Roumania were transplanted.

The Jews resident in the home land had never wholly abandoned the cultivation of the soil, and the newcomers, though rarely accustomed to farm labor, commonly settled in agricultural colonies, where they achieved a reasonable measure of success. Among the most notable of these agricultural settlements to be seen by the traveler to-day are Petach Tikvah (the Gate of Hope) and Rishon le Zion (the First in Zion), in Judæa, and Rosh Pinah (the Cornerstone) and Yessod Hamaaleh (Excelsior), in Galilee.

But the planting of small, scattered, struggling colonies was a slow way of bringing the country again into the possession of the Jewish people; and ambitious plans began to be propounded for reaching this end expeditiously and without awaiting the uncertain advent of a Messiah. These plans usually looked to some sort of international agreement, under which Turkish control in Palestine should be partly or wholly relaxed, and the governments of western Europe should give moral, if not material, support to the establishment of an autonomous Jewish state. Napoleon was at one time interested in such a scheme,



JERUSALEM—A CROWD OF CHRISTIAN AND MOHAMMEDAN WOMEN, RAGGED CHILDREN, AND BEGGARS, WAITING TO RECEIVE GIFTS OF FOOD AND CLOTHING AT RELIEF HEADQUARTERS

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and hardly a public man of western Europe failed to give thought to the subject during the next hundred years.

The Zionist movement, however, as we know it to-day, really dates from about thirty-five years ago. It was in 1896 that the Viennese journalist and playwright, Theodore Herzl, published his epoch-making pamphlet, "The Jewish State"; and it was in the following year that the first general Zionist congress was held, at Basle, in Switzerland.

The burden of Herzl's book was that if Jewry was to be saved from disintegration and eventual extinction, a Jewish state must somehow, somewhere, be built up. The author was not sure that Palestine was the best place for it. He thought that South America, or even Africa, might be preferable; but on the necessity of establishing such a state he spoke with burning conviction. The whole effect of his argument was to stimulate zeal for the reoccupation of Palestine, notwithstanding the interesting offer which came from the British colonial secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, of territory for a Jewish state in Uganda.

By 1910 Zionism numbered among its active leaders such men as Israel Zangwill and Max Nordau, and had the active support of more than three hundred thousand Jews in all parts of the world. Up to the time of the great war, eleven international congresses were held, and the movement steadily strengthened its hold upon the Jewish mind. It also enlisted the sympathies of many non-Jewish students of world affairs; although it must be added that many people, Jews and non-Jews alike, considered the restoration of Jewish rule in the Holy Land as a matter of sentimental importance only, and in no sense a solution of the great problems that press upon the Hebrew race.

PALESTINE IN THE WORLD WAR

In a war which involved the four quarters of the globe, it was to be expected that Palestine, ancient cockpit of warring races, would witness a renewal of the scenes of conflict of bygone ages. And so it fell out. General Allenby's northward sweep across the country in 1917-1918, rolling up the Turkish army and finally putting it to rout, proved not only one of the most dramatic military movements of the war, but a weighty factor—some go as far as to say the decisive factor—in causing the Teutonic powers to seek an armistice.

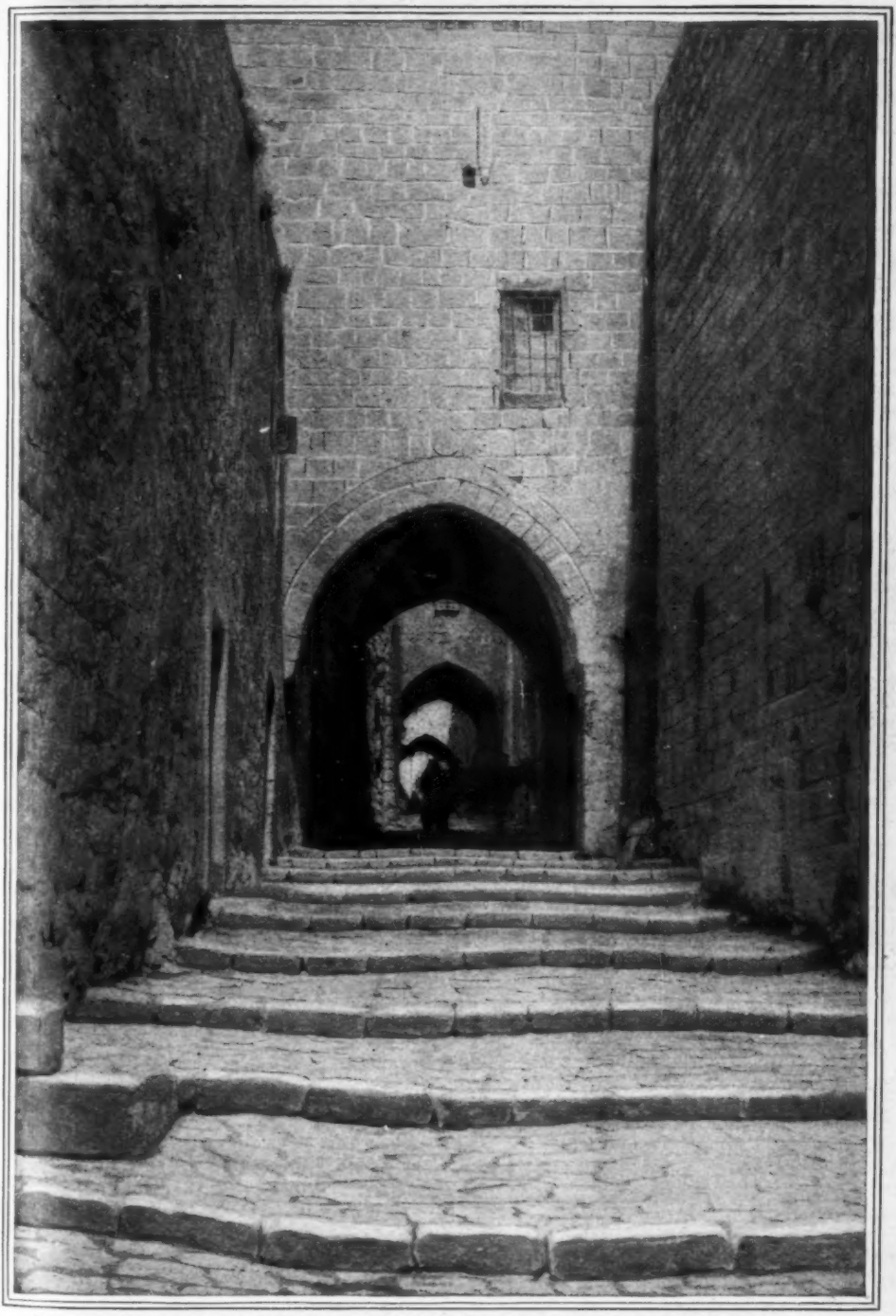
When it became apparent that Turkey would be drawn into the war, the Jewish, as well as the Arab, population of Palestine was not averse to giving its support. The Young Turk constitution of 1908 did, indeed, impose full obligation to render military service in case of a war; but there was hope that the religious freedom and civil rights which that instrument guaranteed would yet be realized under the Sultan's dominion.

Besides, the Jewish inhabitants could not forget that for six hundred years Turkey had held her gates wide open to the Jews who fled from the Spanish Inquisition and similar terrors in other supposedly civilized countries. A few months of service in the wretchedly equipped and provisioned Turkish armies sufficed, however, to give a different view of things, and in the end the overthrow of Turkish rule by Allied arms was hailed by the Jews as the greatest blessing that had befallen the country and its people in modern times.

The good-will of the Arab population was retained for a longer period, mainly as a result of German propaganda. Under the leadership of Leuteveld von Hardegg, consul at Haifa, the Arabs had been led to look upon the Kaiser as the veritable savior of Islam. Friday prayers in the mosques regularly ended with an invocation for the welfare of the Sultan and of "Hadji Wilhelm." Pamphlets were distributed in which it was laboriously argued that the German people were not Christians, like the French and English, but descendants of the prophet Mohammed. None the less, even the Arabs gradually turned against their Turkish coreligionists and went over to the program of an autonomous Arab state.

In the early stages of the war, Germany's main aim in the East was to cut the Suez Canal communications of the British Empire. The task looked comparatively easy. Partly on that account, and partly because the full forces of the Teutonic powers were needed on the European fronts, it was entrusted to the Turks.

Two great campaigns were launched for the purpose, one in 1915 and the other in the following year; but the Anzac cavalry and the British infantry put up a valiant defense, and both movements totally failed. The Anglo-French operations in the Dar-



THE STREET OF STEPS, JERUSALEM—THE HOLY CITY IS BUILT ON A HIGH PLATEAU BOUNDED ON THREE SIDES BY DEEP RAVINES, AND SOME OF ITS STREETS ASCEND SHARPLY, LIKE THOSE OF THE HILL TOWNS OF ITALY

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danelles during these years, though themselves costly and ill-fated, kept the Sultan's forces divided, and may very well have saved both the canal and Egypt from Turkish conquest.

In 1917 the offensive in the Red Sea region passed for the first time to the British, and plans were formulated for a great northward movement which would break the Turkish power in Palestine, Syria, and perhaps even Asia Minor. The advance was started from Egypt under Sir Archibald Murray, who, however, after some initial successes, was halted before he could get far across the Palestine border. Then it was that General Edmund Allenby—now Lord Allenby—the most brilliant cavalry leader who appeared during the entire war, was placed in command.

Utilizing the summer of 1917 for improving the morale and equipment of his expeditionary force, Allenby started forward in October and promptly captured the two great outposts of Beersheba and Gaza. Aided by Arab troops from the Hedjaz, he swept on, cutting the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, and at the middle of November occupying Jaffa itself. This, in turn, put him in a position to threaten Jerusalem; and, after the surrounding Turkish positions were one by one taken by storm, the city itself surrendered on December 10, 1917.

THE RUINED BUILDING CALLED THE HOUSE OF LAZARUS, IN THE VILLAGE OF EL AZARIYEH, IDENTIFIED AS THE BIBLICAL BETHANY, WHERE LIVED LAZARUS, MARTHA, AND MARY, THE FRIENDS OF CHRIST

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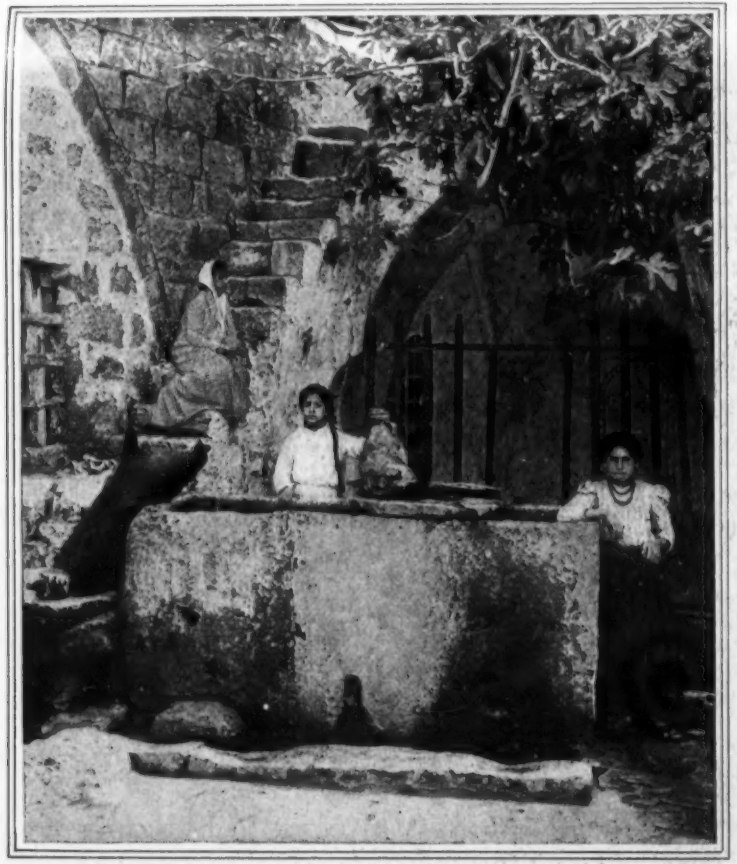
The fall of Jerusalem—the twenty-third such occurrence in the city's recorded history—was a signal event. Bringing to an end, as it did, seven centuries of Moslem control over the holy places, it was ac-



AN OLD HOUSE IN EL AZARIYEH (BETHANY), SAID TO BE THE HOUSE OF SIMON THE LEPER, VISITED BY JESUS

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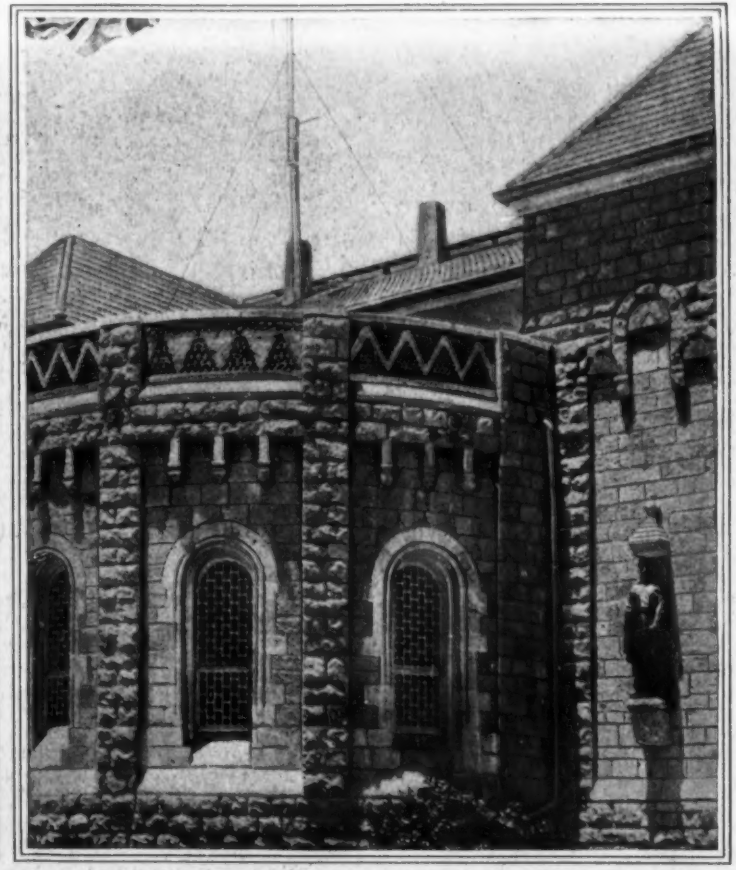

THE FORMER KAISER'S PALACE ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, NOW THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF THE BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER

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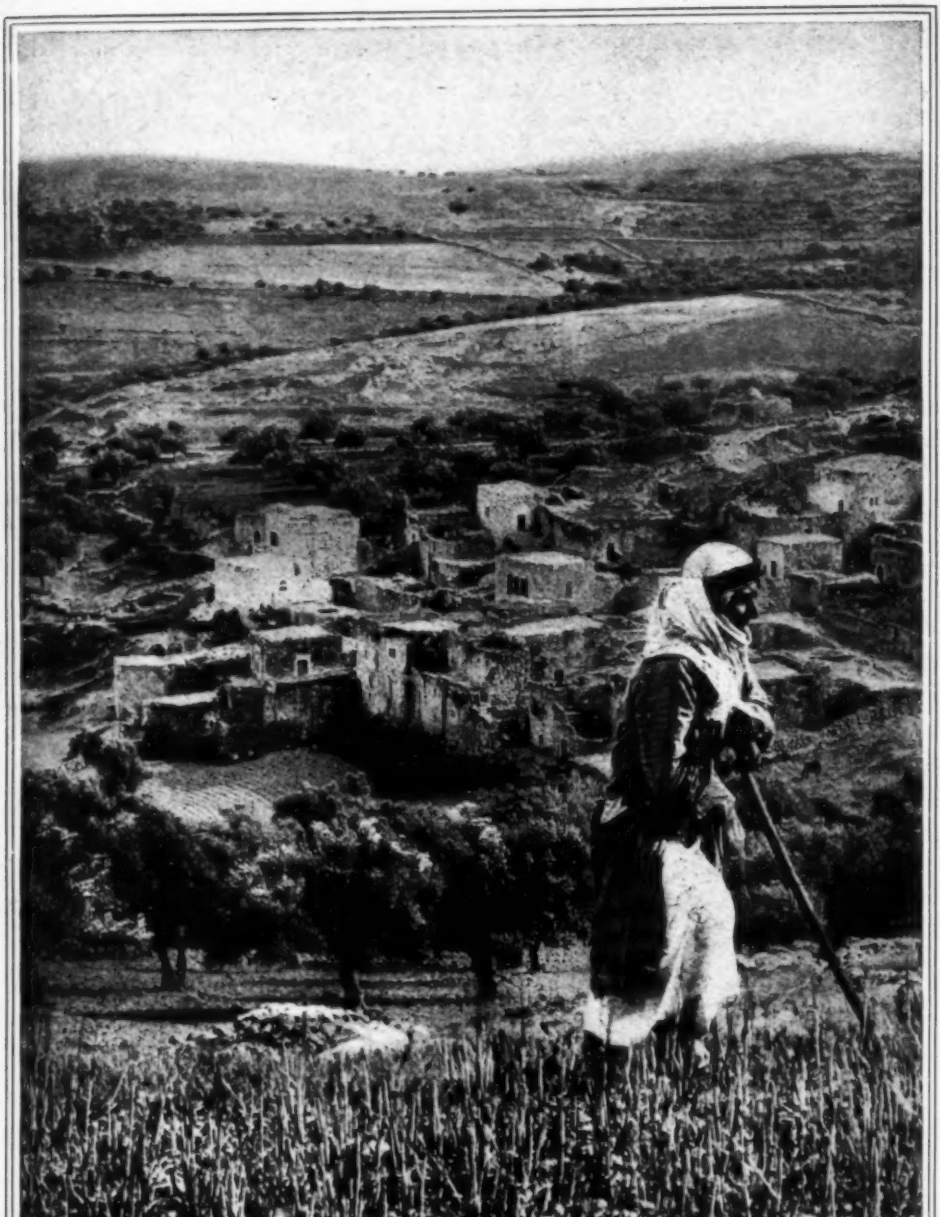

OLIVE-GROVES AND HOUSES OF THE VILLAGE OF EL AZARIYEH (BETHANY), WITH THE HILLS OF JUDÆA IN THE DISTANCE, AS SEEN FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, LOOKING AWAY FROM JERUSALEM

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claimed by the Christian populations of the western world as the final achievement of the great purpose of the medieval crusaders. It also stimulated the aspirations of the Zionists for the re-establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and of the Mohammedan Arabs for the construction of a Greater Arabia.

The stroke could not be followed up forthwith, because part of the expeditionary army was hurriedly withdrawn to reenforce the Allied lines in France, now threatened by General Ludendorff's memorable last drive. But enough troops remained to hold what had been taken, and indeed to capture Jericho; and when, in the early autumn, the tide turned in the West, and fresh troops reported to Allenby from India, the campaign was resumed. A bold cavalry dash carried the conquerors to Nazareth; Haifa and Acre fell; Tiberias was taken; everywhere west of the Jordan the Turks fled northward in a mad rout; everywhere on the east they were pushed back into the desert by the Arabs.

Soon all Palestine was cleared. Then the pursuit set in which led to the capture, in swift succession, of Damascus, Beirut, Tripoli, and Aleppo; and on October 14 the newly enthroned Sultan, Mohammed VI, appealed from Constantinople to President Wilson to use his influence to secure an armistice.

Two weeks later the armistice was signed, and Turkey ceased to be an active factor in the war. In another week Germany was seeking a similar agreement, and on November 11 fighting ceased all round. The brilliant Allied victories in Palestine and Syria unquestionably hastened the Teutonic collapse.

FRENCH AND BRITISH CLAIMS IN THE EAST

The question of conquest now gave way to the problem of future political status. Assuming that the Holy Land was not to be restored to the Turk—and there was nobody left to argue for that—who was to have it? Or was it to become an independent state?

Two western nations, chiefly, were interested in the question—France and Great Britain. France was concerned because for almost four hundred years the protection of Christians living in the Ottoman dominions, and of the *lieux saints* (holy places), had been a treasured prerogative of her foreign policy. A long line of treaties guaranteed this right, and public opinion had been stirred on many occasions by threatened invasions of it. The difficulties with Great Britain which filled the reign of Louis Philippe arose mainly from this source, and France went into the Crimean War primarily to prevent Russia from displacing her at Jerusalem. As recently as 1907 her special rights were freshly guaranteed in an agreement with Italy. During the great war this interest was never relaxed, and it was noted that when the British army entered Damascus the French fleet sailed into Beirut harbor.

French aspiration looked to the control of *la Syrie intégrale*, including Palestine. While ready to admit French priority in northern and northeastern Syria, however, Englishmen felt that the Holy Land proper ought to be brought into the British sphere. French commercial interests lay farther north; the region had been conquered mainly by British arms; it seemed too near Egypt and the Suez Canal to be allowed to pass under the domination of any non-British power.

When the war closed the presumption strongly favored the British. Especially was this the case if the wishes of the country's inhabitants were to be consulted. The Arabs had grown accustomed to close working relations with the British soldiers and administrators, and were suspicious of French designs. The Jews, on their part, were much impressed by Britain's cordial attitude toward Zionism.

This attitude had found most notable expression in a letter written by Foreign Secretary Balfour to Lord Rothschild under date of November 2, 1917—at the time, it will be observed, when Allenby's expeditionary force was bearing down on Jerusalem, and when the conquest of the entire country by British arms had come to be regarded as a certainty. "His Majesty's Government," it was declared, "view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing will be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

This declaration, though manifestly guarded, was received by Jews throughout

THE BUILDING KNOWN AS THE TOMB OF THE VIRGIN, IN BETHLEHEM—BETHLEHEM, THE BIRTHPLACE OF CHRIST, FIVE MILES SOUTHWEST OF JERUSALEM, IS ONE OF THE GREAT PILGRIM SHRINES OF PALESTINE

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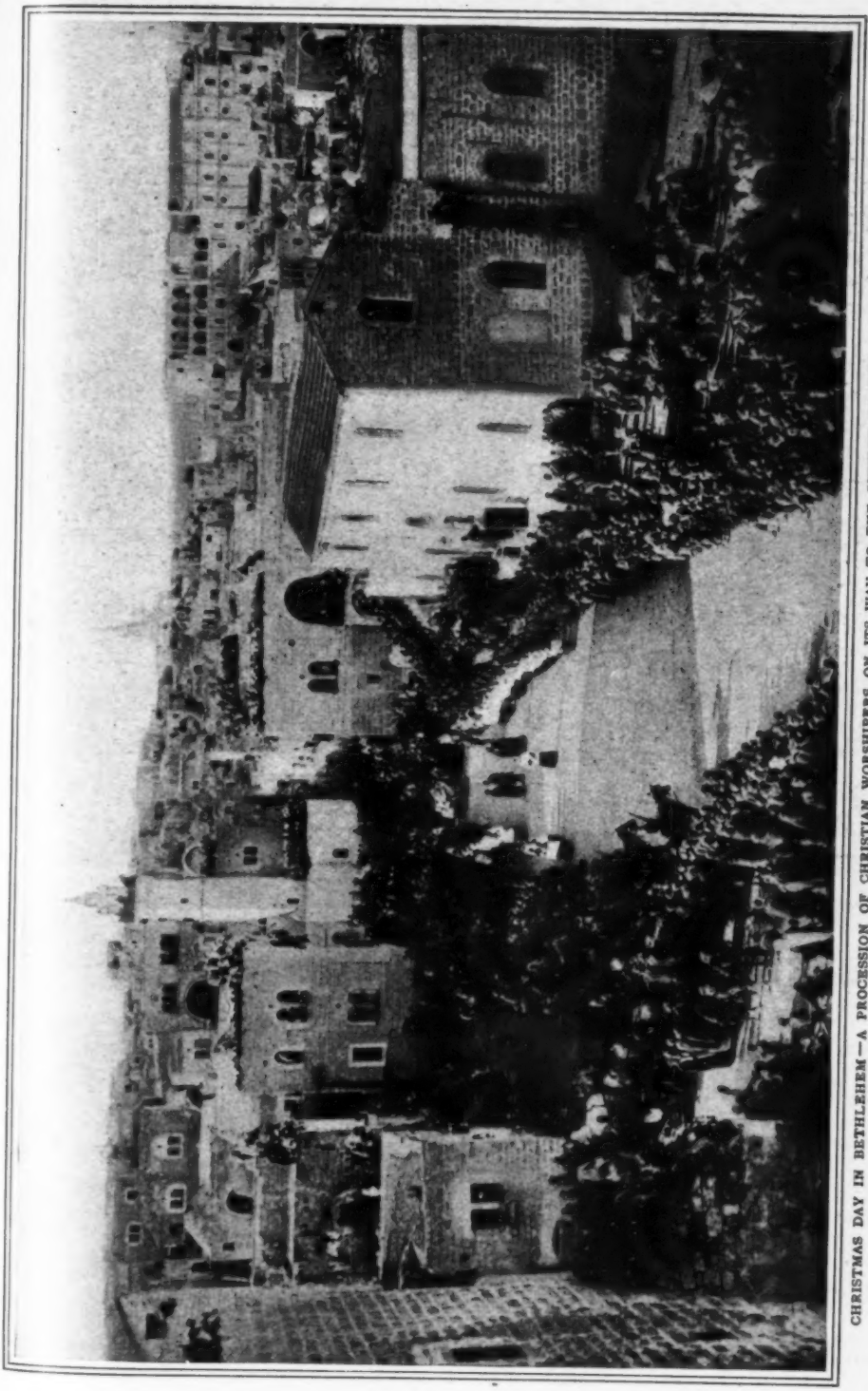
the world as a formal recognition of Jewish nationality and as a pledge, so far as Great Britain was concerned, of the creation of a separate and autonomous Jewish state. "In place of being a wanderer in every clime," commented the London *Jewish Chronicle,* "there is to be a home for the Jew in his ancient land. The day of his exile is to be ended. The invitation to us is to enter into the family of nations of the earth endowed with the franchise of nationhood, to become emancipated, not as individuals or sectionally, but as a whole people."

Notwithstanding the British pronouncement and the general assent with which it was received by the other Allied and associated powers, there was room for doubt as to what the peace conference would do, and the Zionists went to Paris prepared to make a great fight for the realization of their hopes. They submitted formal demands which included a recognition of "the historic title of the Jews to Palestine" and "the right of the Jews to reconstitute Palestine as their national home." At a session specially devoted to the subject their cause was presented in passionate appeals by Dr. Weizmann and other leaders. Mr. Lloyd George declared for the plan, and President Wilson promised his support.

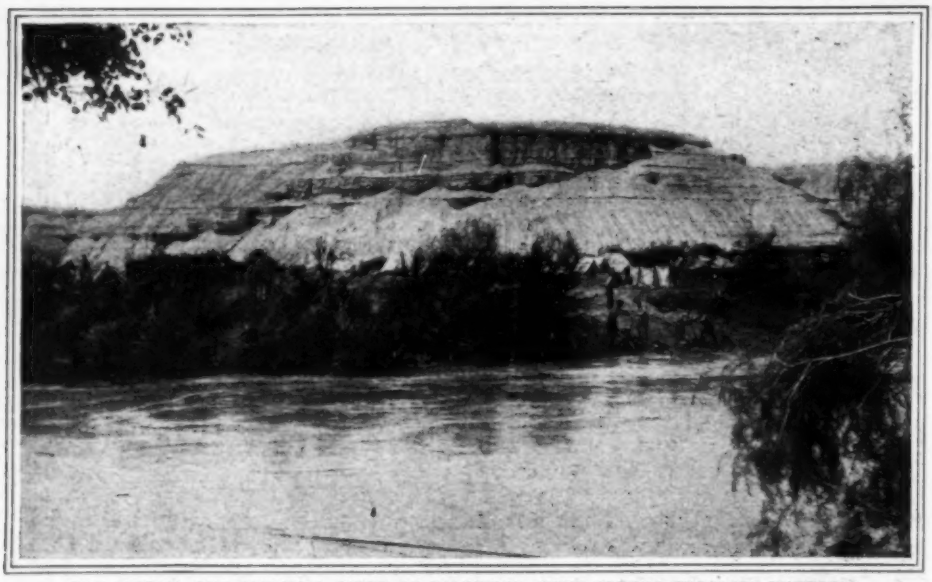
THE CASE AGAINST THE ZIONISTS

As was expected, powerful opposition developed. Protest came, first of all, from the non-Jewish population of Palestine itself. Over against one hundred thousand inhabitants of the Jewish communities, there are six hundred and thirty thousand non-Jews, of whom five hundred and fifty thousand form "a solid block in racial and religious sympathy with the Arabs of Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt."

Zionists had always said—Americans were repeatedly told—that this huge Moslem majority was prepared to accept the rule of a revived Hebrew state. Students of international politics, however, discounted this view of the situation, and developments connected with the peace conference showed it to be false—although it must be admitted that the Arab attitude was now stiffer than in the days before "self-determination" caught the world's fancy.



CHRISTMAS DAY IN BETHLEHEM—A PROCESSION OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIPERS ON ITS WAY TO THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, WHICH CONSTANTINE THE GREAT BUILT UPON THE TRADITIONAL SITE OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST



THE JORDAN, THE PRINCIPAL RIVER OF PALESTINE, WITH BRITISH TROOPERS WATERING THEIR HORSES

From the Moslem-Christian Club of Jerusalem there came to the peace conference, as an expression of the views of all non-Jewish Palestine, a lengthy petition urging that Palestine is Arab, not Jewish; that it has been the seat of a predominantly Arab civilization for more than a thousand years; that ninety-five per cent of the agricultural land is held by Arabs; that the Zionists are fanatics and disturbers of the peace.

In the second place, protests were voiced by large and representative bodies of Jews;

ARABS PLOWING THEIR FIELDS IN THE UPPER JORDAN VALLEY, THE MOST FERTILE PART OF PALESTINE

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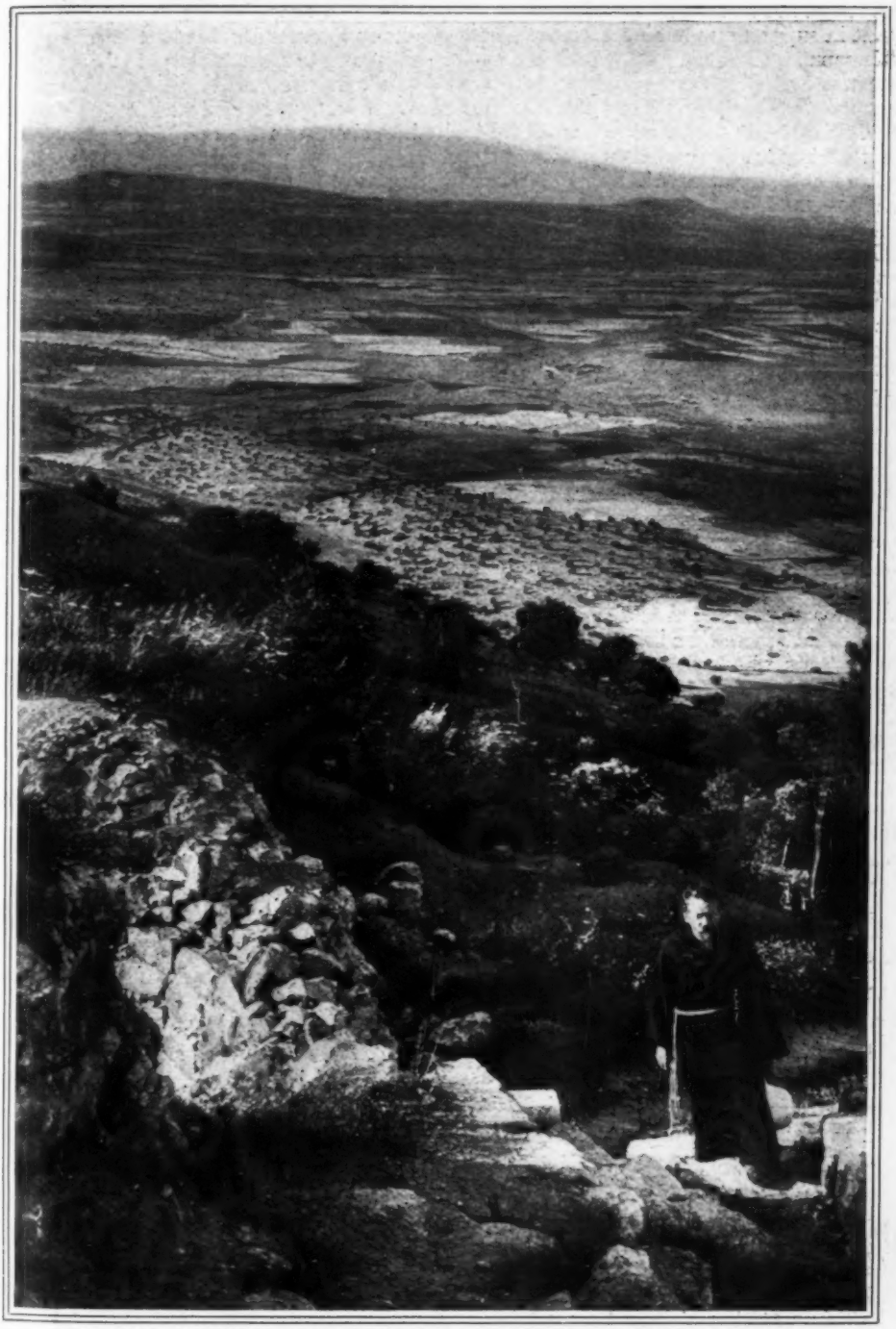

THE HILLS OF GALILEE, AS SEEN FROM MOUNT TABOR, THE TRADITIONAL SCENE OF THE TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST

From a copyrighted photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

for it must not be supposed that Judaism is a unit in supporting the Zionist plans. Dr. Weizmann's plea before the peace conference was promptly followed by a counter-argument by M. Sylvain Lévy, professor at the Collège de France, and it was brought out that French Jews generally, including such men of eminence as Henri Bergson and Joseph Reinach, are of the opinion that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine would be an unpractical and dangerous experiment. President Wilson's promise to support the Zionist program was met by a protest signed by almost three hundred prominent American Jews.

Finally, the Zionist scheme was opposed by large numbers of people who themselves had no racial or religious interests at stake. Their reasons were, in most cases, twofold —first, the fear that the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine would cause an anti-Semitic uprising throughout the Moslem world; and, second, the realization that even if the proposed state should be set up, the problem of the oppressed Jew would remain, for the reason that Palestine could never receive more than one-third of the six million Jews whose unfortunate lot wrings pity from the world to-day.

The peace conference disbanded without settling the affairs of the Near East, but the discussions indicated that while France would obtain control of Syria, Palestine would be put in the custody of Great Britain. So it came about. The treaty submitted to the Sultan's government last May completely severed the country from Turkey, and agreements arrived at by the Allied powers, notably at the San Remo conference, erected it into a separate state.

THE BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

Full independence, however, was considered unsafe for Palestine itself, as well as contrary to the interests of the western nations. Accordingly, Great Britain received a mandate for the control of the country's affairs, subject to the superior authority of the League of Nations; and it was in effect announced that, in pursuance of Mr. Balfour's promise of 1917, the country would be so administered as to enable it to become a national home for the Jews of the world.

British control, which had spread from one end of the land to the other as General Allenby's army pressed on from victory to victory, was thus regularized, and it has now been in operation more than two and one-half years. At first it was naturally of a strictly military character; and by the favor which it showed to the Arab interests in the country, as against the Jewish, it laid itself open to the charge of being false to the Zionist professions of the Foreign Office. Last June, however, with the arrival of Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew and a Zionist, as high commissioner, a new stage in the unfolding of British policy was reached.

One of the first things that Sir Herbert did was to make a tour of the country, including the towns east of the Jordan, with a view to establishing good personal relations with the local chiefs and explaining to them the purposes of the British overlordship. The trip was very successful. All elements professed to be satisfied with the new arrangements, and even the Bedouin chiefs, gathered in council at Es Salt, beyond the Jordan, unanimously affixed their seals to a document expressing their desire for British rule.

Thereupon civil government was proclaimed and constructive political and economic measures were actively undertaken. Included among these measures are the widening of the narrow-gage Jaffa railway, the deepening of the harbor of Haifa, a campaign against the causes of malaria, rearrangement of racial quarters in a number of the towns, the unification of weights and measures, the taxation of the rising values of land, the establishment of banks for granting long-term loans for agriculture and industry, and the floating of a foreign loan of three million pounds to be used for railroad extensions, telephone and telegraph lines, the development of a highway system, and the erection of government buildings. It may be added that steps have been taken to obtain this loan, or a part of it, in the United States.

Governmental organization is still incomplete; but the principle on which it is being worked out is the association of Moslems, Jews, and even native Christians, with Englishmen, in the various administrative boards and other bodies. Thus, in the judicial branch, the court of first instance in each of the five judicial districts consists of an English judge and two native judges, and the Supreme Court of Appeal at Jerusalem is similarly constituted.

Jewish immigrants are arriving in the country at the rate of about a thousand a

A GANG OF ARAB LABORERS AT WORK UPON A NEW ROAD OUTSIDE OF JERUSALEM

month. Some settle in the older Jewish colonies, others find employment in road-construction, land-reclamation, and other projects which the government has in hand. Vessels flying the Jewish flag below the British ply regularly between Constantinople and Jaffa, carrying immigrants from Soviet Russia, Roumania, Galicia, the Caucasus, and the Crimea.

The map-maker in the Near East has still a great amount of work to do, and among the boundary-lines to be definitely drawn are those of Palestine. The Zionists have usually been modest in their territorial demands.

"We ask not," declared Nahum Sokolov, author of a recent and excellent two-volume history of Zionism, a short time ago, "for the greater Palestine of Solomon, but simply for the tract of country between our ancient boundaries and Beersheba—or, in modern terms, from the River Kishon to El Arish. Westward our limit will be the sea. Eastward it may well be that the new Arabian kingdom will preclude our extension beyond the River Jordan, which would thus form our eastern boundary."

THE QUESTION OF WATER-SUPPLY

The engineers who have been working on the problem of reclaiming the country's extensive desert and waste lands insist, however, on more extended boundaries, especially in the north; and the British government is inclined to back them up. The question is primarily one of water-supply. The engineers say that unless the Jordan throughout its entire course, the Litany River, the Yarmuk Basin, and Lake Meserib are included in Palestine territory, the economic development of the country will be impossible.

This would place the northern boundary in the latitude of Damascus and Sidon, instead of that of Haifa and the Sea of Galilee, and would bring into Palestine a broad belt of territory which is now claimed by Syria, backed by France as the mandatory in that region. With a view to such a delimitation of frontiers, Sir Herbert Samuel has asked his government to take up the question with France without delay.

With adequate arrangements for the storage and distribution of water, the country can be made to support a population of some millions. This, however, would also presuppose the wide-spread introduction of intensive, scientific agriculture, which at best can come but slowly. The bulk of the agricultural population to-day consists of the Arab fellaheen, or peasants, who cultivate the soil, whether as owners or as renters, in the most primitive fashion. The Jewish colonists use modern machinery and methods, and they have introduced important new products, such as the almond; but their example has been lost upon the Arabs, and it is not easy to see how the latter can be shaken out of the unprogressive methods and habits which served their ancestors centuries ago.

Industrial development is not impossible. There are no known deposits of iron or coal, but the sharp falls of the Jordan and other streams can be made to yield electric power; and native products—lumber, papyrus, cotton, tobacco, olives—furnish the raw materials for important, even though small-scale, manufactures.

Two main problems, in summary, fall to the British administrator in his new field of effort. The first is the rehabilitation and modernization of the country on economic lines, with a view to fitting it to receive and nourish the enlarged population which it will be called upon to sustain. The fruits of British engineering and agricultural achievements in Egypt, India, and other tropical and subtropical lands give promise that this task will be efficiently accomplished.

The second problem is to hold in agreeable relations the two major elements of the country's population, the Arabs and the Jews. In former times these two peoples were reasonably harmonious; but this was because they were equally subject to Turkish rule. Under the new conditions, open animosity has developed. Last June an Arab *pogrom* was launched in Jerusalem which resulted in the death of six Jews and injury to two hundred others. There have been other outbreaks; and while it may be true that the demonstrations were engineered from Damascus or other foreign Arab centers, there can be no doubt that resentment against the increasing numbers and influence of the Jews, coupled with the growth of the Pan-Arab movement in general, gives promise of trouble.

Here again, however, it is possible to take a hopeful view; for the Britisher is an adept at holding mutually hostile races in order and inspiring them with a wholesome respect for himself, if not one for another.